

J. H. Miches
9.509.6

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE LATE
Insurrection in Ireland;

IN WHICH IS LAID OPEN,
The secret Correspondence between the United Irish and the
French Government, through Lord E. FITZGERALD, Mr.
A. O'CONNOR, J. QUIGLEY, and others.

TOGETHER WITH
A short History of the principal Battles between the King's
Forces and the Insurgents; with Observations on the Con-
fessions of the Chiefs, and on their Connection with certain
Societies in Great Britain.

READ AND THEN JUDGE.

Ⓜ This Account is chiefly taken from the Reports of the Secret
Committees of the Irish Parliament, and other authentic Papers.



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ACCOUNT

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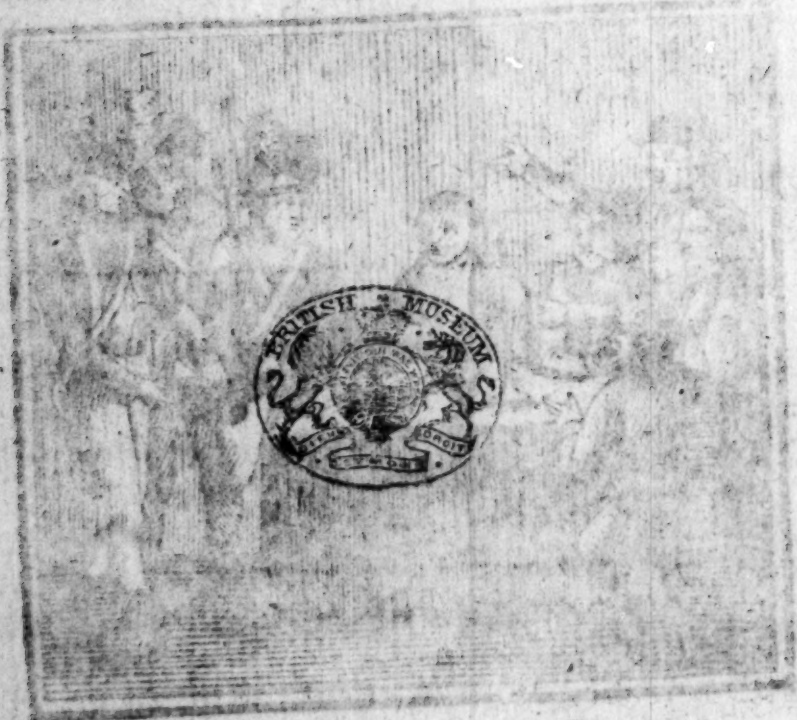
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AN ACCOUNT

OF THE LATE

Insurrection in Ireland, &c.

PART I.

Rise of the Conspiracy.

THE first seeds of the Irish Rebellion were sown so long ago as in the year 1791, by a society then formed, under the name of *United Irishmen*. Many disturbances having begun to prevail among a set of people called *Defenders*, the Irish House of Lords enquired into the subject, and they made a Report in 1793, in which it was stated that these new Defenders "were very different from those who originally took that name, and were all Catholics, as far as their Lordships could discover; that they were in general poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to secrecy, who thought they were assisting the catholic cause; and that they also talked of being relieved from taxes and tithes, and of having their rents lowered; but that, in other respects, they seemed to have no particular object in view." Their disorders prevailed chiefly in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan,

and parts adjacent, where they used to attack the houses, at first only in order to get arms; but they soon proceeded to plundering them of whatever they could find. From the secrecy and regularity of their measures, it was already suspected that there must be men of superior rank engaged. Collections were at this time made among the Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, both at the chapels and elsewhere, which were stated to be "*for the use of the General Committee for conducting the affairs of the Catholics;*" and part of the sums so raised seems to have been applied (*without the knowledge of those Catholics who furnished it*) in paying counsel and agents for prisoners indicted by the Government for those breaches of the peace which have been mentioned. Various subscriptions or taxes were, from time to time, raised, or attempted to be raised, by the leaders of this conspiracy, among the people; but it is curious to observe how small was the total of these collections, and how great was the jealousy felt as to the manner of applying them. The leaders themselves seem, in one instance, to have suspected that a collection was turned to the private use of the party to whom it was intrusted.

A great ferment was kept up, particularly at Belfast and Dublin, through the circulation of seditious papers and pamphlets, in which the conduct of the French was praised, and hopes of a French descent were expressed. Some arms and gunpowder were collected, and associations of men formed, who met to exercise in the night. A few attempts were made to seduce the soldiery, which to their honour, failed of effect. The professed object of these military bodies was a Reform in Parliament;

Parliament; but their intention seems clearly to have been to overawe the Parliament and Government, and to dictate to them both.

The measures recommended in the Report of the Irish House of Lords, in consequence of this new evil springing up in the State, were certainly very temperate ones. They say, "The result of our enquiries is, that in our opinion, it is inconsistent with the public safety and tranquillity, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they please, without any legal authority; and that the existence of a self-created Representative Body, taking on itself the government of the King's subjects, and raising taxes or subscriptions to be applied by themselves, or their deputies, is also inconsistent with the public safety and tranquillity."

The leaders of this rebellion seem to have used a singular degree of art, as well as secrecy, in preparing the people for revolt. For a time they professedly gave an air of mystery to their association, in this respect exactly following the French. In setting up the Dublin Society, they advise that "this Society should have much of the secrecy, and somewhat of the ceremonial, attached to Free-Masonry; with so much secrecy as might communicate curiosity, uncertainty, and expectation, and with a certain degree of impressive and affecting ceremony." These are their own words. They knew how much mankind are apt to be led away by a little pomp of this sort, and how pleased every one is at the idea of being let into a secret. During all this time, they evidently were aware how much the sense of the nation was against them; nor did they dare to discover even to their own followers the extent of their plot. In their public
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paper,

paper, they state, "a more equal Representation of the People in Parliament, together with the promotion of Constitutional Knowledge, and of genuine Whig Principles, to be their object;" but in a private letter accompanying that public paper, it is observed by the leader who drew it up to a friend who was in the secret, that the public paper contains his opinion only, "so far as in the present juncture it may be adviseable to publish it; that it certainly falls short of the truth; but truth itself (says this moralist) must sometimes condescend to temporize." He adds, "I have been purposely vague and indefinite. I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation; though I give it to you and your friends as my decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country." The Whig Club, he declares, "are not sincere friends to the popular cause; they dread the people as much as the Castle (or Government) does."

The consciousness which at one time they felt of the smallness of their numbers, as well as the plan adopted for increasing them, will appear from the following passage in the circular address of the Dublin United Society, dated December, 1791. They say, "We entreat you to look round for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty," as they term it. "If there be but ten, take those ten; if there be but two, take those two. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies will in no long time become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself, speaking its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power."

power." Thus regularly and gradually did they propose to proceed; yet it seems as if they were not disposed to move at any very slow pace; for they very gravely and religiously observe also, that "in a life so short and fragile as this, it is requisite that there should be promptitude in execution."—There would be something truly laughable in many parts of their proceedings, if one's laughter were not restrained by a recollection of the horrors which were to be brought about. They say, "Let every member wear day and night an amulet (or love-token) round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the brotherhood, in letters of gold, on a ribbon striped with all the original colours, and enclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious end. Let this amulet of union, faith, and honour, descend from the neck, and be bound about the body, next to the skin, and close to the heart." By a variety of other such fine words and fair speeches, did they delude the ignorant, and inveigle many a well-meaning Irishman into their net. We shall presently see how far their practice corresponded with their professions, and what was the issue of this business.

PART II.

Progress of the Conspiracy.—Craft and Wickedness of the Means used.—Connection formed with France.

THE Societies of United Irishmen having been established by the plausible means already mentioned, the next three years were employed in every where engaging persons of activity and talents in their service, and in circulating seditious publications. An infamous paper, called *The Union Star*, was privately printed and industriously sent about, in which assassination was recommended in direct terms; and a number of persons, particularly magistrates, and such as had served on juries, were held out by name as objects of assassination. The newspaper called *The Press*, which was conducted by Mr. A. O'Connor, was also devoted to their cause. Every kind of misrepresentation and falsehood was employed to vilify the Government, to degrade the administration of justice, to exaggerate the numbers and force of the disaffected, to shake the connection with Great Britain, and to induce the people to commit themselves into the hands of the French. The lower classes were but too easily deceived by these arts, and induced to quit their usual habits and pursuits. If an insurgent was taken up, there was a bar of lawyers retained to undertake his cause. Entries of money appear in the papers of the society which have been seized, for paying as well as buying off witnesses; for inducing gaolers to be guilty of a breach of trust, and even for bribing under-sheriffs to return partial pannels of jurymen.

It

It may here be observed, that in the year 1795, the leaders had ventured to open, in some measure, the objects which they had in view. They had then changed the words of the test taken on the admission of members; for whereas an United Irishman had before been used to swear that he united in order to obtain a full representation of all the people in the *Commons House of Parliament*, it was then resolved to leave out the last mentioned words, "in the Commons House of Parliament;" and thus it had become in some degree avowed, that a new and Republican Constitution was intended.

In 1796 considerable numbers of men, chiefly belonging to the Province of Ulster*, having enrolled themselves, the heads of the party opened a direct communication with the foreign enemy. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor appear to have been the persons employed on this occasion. They proceeded by Hamburgh to Switzerland, and had an interview, near the French frontier, with General Hoche, who afterwards had the command of the expedition against Ireland. They did not pass into France, lest the Irish Government should gain intelligence of the fact, and apprehend them on their return. In October, 1796, an accredited messenger from the French arrived in Ireland, and communicated their intention speedily to invade that kingdom with fifteen thousand men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition. In order to co-operate with them, as well as to counteract the loyal associations of yeo-

* Ireland is divided into four Provinces, or chief Divisions—Ulster, Munster, Connaught, and Leinster.

manry; which were formed at this time, and which in the end amounted to fifty thousand men, the rebel leaders directed that their societies should be converted into military bodies, and they provided arms and ammunition. It appears from certain papers, seized at Belfast, in April, 1797, that the numbers in Ulster had been computed by the rebel chiefs at near one hundred thousand.

On the 24th December, 1796, eight men of war with two decks, and nine other vessels of different classes, being part of a French fleet, appeared in Bantry Bay, and remained there till the 27th December in the evening, without any attempt to land. An officer in a boat was driven on shore, and conveyed to Dublin, who stated that this fleet, on leaving Brest, consisted in all of about fifty sail, having twenty-five thousand men on board, under General Hoche, destined to attack Ireland. The yeomanry and volunteer corps on this occasion shewed the utmost zeal and alacrity; and there appeared an universal readiness among all descriptions of people in that part to prepare for defence.

The loyalty of the people in the neighbourhood in question has been accounted for by Mr. Emmett, one of the chief conspirators, in his confession before the House of Commons, by his observing, "that no measures had been taken to prepare the people," in the quarter now spoken of, "for the reception of the French army."—"The people," he says, "were left to themselves," and when left to themselves (as we trust they will be in future) it seems the people were loyal. But why, it may be asked, did the conspirators thus leave them to themselves, at that critical time, and that particular place? The best answer is, That it seems as if Providence

vidence had confounded their councils, and had produced an infatuation among them just when the moment came when one would think that their wicked endeavours would be crowned with success. Mr. Emmett has also remarked to the Irish House of Commons, "that the Irish rebels and the French, just at this time, misunderstood one another; the rebels having been led to think, by a letter which they considered as authentic, that the French were not to come till spring, and that England and Ireland were then to be invaded together." They were thus thrown off their guard, and prevented from taking any measures.—Of this French fleet, one frigate with 625 men on board, was taken off the Irish coast; and another frigate and large transport foundered. The French ship, called *La Ville de L'Orient*, having on board 400 French hussars, was also captured before she got back into port, as were some other vessels, and several were sunk.

In March, 1797, a Proclamation was issued by General Lake, in consequence of the United Irish having assaulted, wounded, cut and maimed, several persons (particularly in the town of Stewartstown, in Tyrone County) for refusing to join their association, and for enrolling themselves in the loyal corps. The lives of all who should venture to discover their treasons were now threatened; if a juryman gave a verdict against a rebel honestly and according to his oath, he was almost sure to be put to death. The Justices of Peace were fired at when endeavouring to apprehend the rebels in their nightly robberies. Many trees of the gentry were cut down to make pikes, and great quantities of lead stolen for casting bullets. Multitudes were
compelled

compelled to take unlawful oaths, and to profess themselves United Irishmen in order to provide for their own safety. The very shocking murder of Mr. Comyns, of Newtownards, is mentioned in the Report of the Irish House of Commons, as one instance of the barbarity of their system; and a number of their other murders are too notorious to need dwelling upon.

In the spring of 1797, a plan was seriously discussed among the leaders in Dublin, for commencing a general rising, without waiting for the further French assistance which was expected; but the Ulster and Leinster Delegates disagreed. The Ulster Delegates were even so disgusted at what they called the cowardice of the others, that they wanted to act without them. They intended of themselves to seize the Castle of Dublin, and to trust to the mob for assistance; but from the additional military precautions at that time taken in the garrison, the plan was abandoned. The progress of the conspiracy was much impeded by the coolness between the Leinster and Ulster Delegates which followed. About the same time (spring of 1797) Mr. Lewin, who is at this very time the resident Agent of the United Irishmen in France, was sent over to Paris; and, in the summer of the same year, Dr. M'Nevin was also dispatched thither. He was authorised to assure the French, that the full expences of any Irish armament should be repaid them, which was to be raised by confiscating the lands of the church, and the property of all those who should oppose the measures of the party. He was also charged to borrow half a million, or at least 300,000*l.*, and to advise that the next landing should be at Oysterhaven. There was

one circumstance in Dr. M'Nevin's negotiation which deserves much attention: the Irish rebels, it seems, wanted only five, or at most, ten thousand men, to be sent, which they thought would be enough to help them to overthrow the Government, and to place the power of the country in their own hands: but the French were determined to send more than this force, if they furnished any troops at all, evidently for the purpose of retaining Ireland as a French conquest, and of plundering and oppressing it in the same dreadful manner as they have done so many other countries, which they have first deceived, and then got into their power.

It should here be remarked, that, in consequence of the numerous and horrid outrages which have been already mentioned, the Insurrection Bill was passed, and the Habeas Corpus Act suspended; measures which the conspirators endeavoured to represent as violations of the public liberty. The Insurrection Act passed in March, 1796, which was subsequent to the time when the Irish Union sent their first Agent to France, and the rejection of the plan of reform, proposed in 1797, in the Irish House of Commons, took place some time after the departure of Mr. Lewin to be their Resident in France; though it was pretended that the rejection of that measure was the cause of his being sent.

In May, 1797, authority was given to General Lake to disarm the people. Acts of outrage still increasing, notice was given that the military force was about to act, for the suppression of the attempts of the rebels. Pardon, with certain exceptions, was, however, held out to such as should surrender within a month, and the term was afterwards

wards prolonged for another month. Notwithstanding this measure of mercy and warning to the disaffected, a general insurrection in Ulster was decided on, and the numbers of the disaffected in that Province seem then to have been calculated at 116,844 men. The purpose of the rebels, however, being known to Government, it was for the most part defeated by the active exertions of the military; only a partial rising in the mountains of the county of Down having taken place. The hope of support from the French army, which was expected to sail from Holland under Admiral de Winter, had encouraged this project of insurrection; and it is to the gallant conduct of Lord Duncan and his fleet that, under Providence, we owe not only the capture of many Dutch men of war, but also the putting down of this insurrection. The joy occasioned by Lord Duncan's victory among the loyal, probably was not greater than the sorrow and mortification felt on the same occasion among these conspirators against their country.

PART III.

General Rising of the Rebels.—Their Defeat and Slaughter.—Full Confession of their Chiefs.—Landing of the French, and Capture of their whole Force.

IN the latter end of 1797 the audacity of the rebels was so considerably repressed by the strong measures of Government, and tranquillity so far restored, that the laws were administered in the Province of Ulster with effect: in the autumn circuit of that year manufacturing industry revived, and military interference was generally discontinued.

In April and May, 1798, the rebel leaders perceived that their cause was losing ground, and that they must either hazard an insurrection or give up their hopes. The arrest of the Leinster Provincial Committee, and several other leading members of the Union on the same day, tended so much to disclose the guilt of the party, and to weaken their organization, that the conspirators resolved without delay to make one desperate effort. They formed a plan for a general rising, the outline of which was, to surprise Dublin, the camp at Loughlinstown, and the artillery station at Chapelizod, on the same night. The insurrection being commenced near the metropolis (the signal for announcing which was to be the detention of the mail coaches), it was expected that the North and the South would also rise. The Lord Lieutenant was to be seized, and all the Privy Council

Council separately, in their own houses. The night of the 23d of May, 1798, was the time appointed for this dreadful undertaking.

The Government, perfectly informed of the purpose of the conspirators, caused, on the 19th and 21st of May, several of the leaders to be apprehended, and on the 22d the Lord Lieutenant sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, advertising them of the intended insurrection. Notwithstanding many military precautions, it took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin on the night appointed, and every possible effort was made by the disaffected within the town to co-operate with those without; the party in the provinces using, at the same time, every exertion to bring the people there into action. Martial law was now proclaimed. Almost every where the King's troops prevailed. The rebels, consisting of a body of 1000, made a regular attack on the town of Naas, on the 24th May, but were defeated by the Armagh militia under Lord Gosford, and were then charged and pursued by the 4th dragoon guards and ancient British; their loss amounted to near 200. They made another unsuccessful attack the next day, and had again between one and 200 slain. About 200 more of the rebels were killed in an onset made on the King's troops near the hills of Kilcullen; and on the succeeding day, being attacked in their turn, they were defeated, and 130 left dead in the field. One hundred and fifty fell in the town of Baltinglas, and 300 near Dunlavin. At Stratford-on-Slaney, between one and 200 were killed and many wounded. Near Hacketstown, 300 were left dead in the field; and about 400 to the north of Dublin, on Taragh-hill.

At

At Carlow, 400; at Monastereven, 50; near Kildare, 300; and near Newtown-barry 500 rebels were killed, who had descended from Vinegar-hill; at Ballicanoe, about 100. Early on the 28th June, the rebels having attacked General Lake in the neighbourhood of New Ross, with a numerous force, and with great impetuosity, they were completely repulsed, and their loss was prodigiously great.

The insurrection about this time broke out violently also in the county of Antrim, but there the rebels had as little success. It seems that after a few days they quarreled among themselves, and that, out of 2000 who were in arms, the commander was able to retain with him only 50; the rest, partly through the persuasion of a prisoner, having left the camp, destroyed their arms, and declared that they never would again carry an offensive weapon against his Majesty or his loyal subjects. About 40 rebels were killed near Ballinahinch, in Lord Moira's wood, as they were beginning to assemble; and a few days after, viz. the 12th June, about 400 fell in an action in the same place. This force on the day before the battle, was known to be about 5000; but as many were pressed into the service, and were entirely unarmed, it is supposed that the numbers engaged was much less considerable.

About the time when the last mentioned engagement happened in the North, General Needham was opposed to a great body of rebels near Arklow. On the 10th June they made their approach in two immense columns, while the whole intermediate space, embracing his entire front, was crowded by a rabble, armed with pikes and fire-arms,

and bearing down without any regular order. His position was a very strong one. As soon as they were come within a short distance, he opened a heavy fire of grape shot, which continued from six till half past eight o'clock, when the enemy fled in all directions.

On the 20th June, Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin, in the capacity both of acting Commander in Chief, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The public virtues of this distinguished nobleman; his military talents, and also the peculiar moderation and mildness of his character, are too well known to need any comment.

On the 21st June, the great rebel camp at Vinegar-hill, near Wexford, was attacked, and carried, after an action of an hour and a half. The rebels fled with precipitation, and left several pieces of cannon behind them. General Moore, immediately after this victory, pushed on to Wexford, which town had been in the possession of the rebels, and entered it so opportunely as to prevent its being laid in ashes, and to hinder the massacre of the remaining prisoners by the rebels, who the day before had murdered above seventy of them in cold blood, and had thrown their bodies over the bridge. On the next day, some considerable remains of the rebel army were again completely routed.

The time would fail to speak of all the various inferior actions which took place. In two or three trifling instances only, were the King's troops defeated; and in every case of this sort, they appeared to have been surprised.

So entirely did the leaders of the conspiracy now despair of their cause, that many of them con-

sented

sented to make a full and voluntary confession of all the circumstances with in their knowledge; and it is from their own account, given in on oath before the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland, that much of the present History of the Rise of this Rebellion, and the Correspondence carried on with France, has been taken. On condition of this full disclosure of what they knew, they were to be permitted to emigrate to some country, to be agreed on between them and the Government, giving security never to return to Ireland, without permission of his Majesty's minister. A proposal to this purpose was signed by Arthur O'Connor, Samuel Neilson, Thomas Addis Emmett, H. Jackson, William M'Nevin, John Sweetman, and upwards of seventy other prisoners.

Thus ended, as we hope, this most formidable Irish Rebellion. Much interesting and important information has been communicated through the confession of some of the persons just mentioned. In particular, it appears that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, who was tried at Maidstone, and in favour of whose character Mr. Fox, the Duke of Bedford, and many other Gentlemen of Opposition, gave the strongest evidence, professing the greatest intimacy with him, has been, ever since November, 1796, a member of the Irish Directory. It must be presumed that the Opposition Gentlemen were deluded by him, and that his own strong assurances of loyalty must have been the means used for practising this deceit. His character, which was particularly extolled by them for its openness in this case, becomes as remarkable for dissimulation and falsehood.

There can be little doubt now in the mind of

any man, that Quigley, who was tried with him at Maidstone, and who, just before his execution, is generally understood to have protested his innocence, was guilty of the crime for which he suffered. It is was probably in order to interest a multitude in his favour, and to cast an odium on Government, that the following declaration of his was inserted in several of the newspapers. The public should learn from hence, to distrust the pretensions to innocence and virtue, which are made by men fairly and openly convicted of rebellion against the State.

The paragraph, given as Quigley's last speech, was as follows: "I do not find it necessary to say much here; having taken some pains to send a regular declaration, signed with my own hand, to a friend in London, together with a sketch of my unfortunate and afflicted life, which, I hope, will convince the public of the truth. These, I hope, will be published. I shall only here solemnly declare that I am innocent of the charge for which I suffer, I never was in my life the bearer of any letter, or other paper, or message, printed, written, or verbal, to the Directory of France, nor to any person on their behalf; neither was I ever a member of the London Corresponding Society, or of any other political society in Great Britain; nor did I ever attend any of their meetings, public or private, so help God! Surely if a man is to be believed at any time, it is when he is going to eternity, before the bar of the Heavenly Father and Almighty God. Before Him I now solemnly declare the truth of what I am now saying. I declare it under this impression. Whether it will be believed by men or not, is a matter that must rest

rest with posterity; sure I am that what I say will be believed in the world to come.—I forgive all who have had a share in my murder; for I repeat that it is murder. Some of the evidences were perjured," (whom he enumerated by name) &c.

Nothing certainly, could be calculated more effectually to convince the public of the innocence of this man. It can only be observed in answer—First, that it now appears that Mr. O'Connor, his companion, had been regularly sent, together with Lord E. Fitzgerald, at a former period, to France, and who can doubt that he was going on a like embassy?—Secondly, it may be observed, that it now appears by information, verified on oath before the Irish House of Lords, by Mr. N. Maguan, of Saintfield, in the County of Down, a member of the Provincial and County Committees, that at a Provincial Meeting, held on the 1st February, 1798, it was stated, "That the Rev. Priest Quigley, now returned to Belfast, and formerly of the County of Louth, from which he had fled some time ago, was one of the Delegates lately returned from France; and that he and the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon, of Hollywood, were the principal persons who opened the communication with the United Britons."

Another circumstance which appears from the confession of the chiefs, is the total indifference which the bulk of the people felt on those two subjects of Catholic Emancipation and Irish Reform, which were the pretext for all this rebellion.—Dr. M'Nevin, a leader of the party, was asked by the Committee of the Irish House of Commons, "Do you think the mass of the people in the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Con-

naught,

naught, care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink which it contains, for Parliamentary Reform, or Catholic Emancipation?" On which he answered, "I am sure they do not; but they wish much to be relieved from the payment of tithes." —Mr. Emmett, another leader, replied to the same question—"I believe the mass of the people do no care a feather for Catholic Emancipation; neither did they care for Parliamentary Reform, till it was explained to them, as leading to other objects which they looked to, principally the abolition of tithes. They were also taught to consider that when they became members of a Republic their condition would be bettered."

It is here worthy of observation, that at the very time when the question of Reform was about to be moved in the Irish House of Commons, the Leinster Provincial Body came to a resolution, that they would not be diverted from their purpose by any thing which could be done in Parliament." Reform, we see, therefore, was the *word*, but Revolution was always the *thing meant*. By using that plausible and popular word, they stood a chance of gaining over some well-meaning but weak-minded men. They also cast a veil, in some measure, over their treason; they provided for their friends who were taken up, a better chance for acquittal, in the trials for high treason which took place; and they secured the intimacy and friendship of some of the Opposition Party, and, to a certain degree, the co-operation of them all in the British and Irish Parliament. The Committee of the Irish House of Lords observe on this subject, "that these avowed traitors to their King and country had, in part, learned to palliate their
their

their treason, from persons of a very different description in Great Britain and Ireland, who, fatally for the peace of that kingdom and the security of the British empire, have, during the progress of this most foul and unnatural rebellion, from utter ignorance and mis-information on the subject, as the Committee must presume, publicly and repeatedly palliated, if not justified, that system of treason, which had well nigh involved that once happy and flourishing kingdom in all the miseries of the French Revolution."

But the chief discovery, which has been made by the confessions of the conspirators, is what relates to the secret correspondence which has been for so long a time carried on between them and the French. It now appears that the rebellion in Ireland has been, from first to last, in a great measure, a French plot. Can any one doubt that the most forward of these conspirators have been, some of them, in the pay of France? And that, while they praised French liberty and French virtue, to the people, it was the French gold in their pockets which dictated the fine things they said of France. This, indeed, does not appear in evidence, for, in the nature of things, it was hardly possible to bring it out. It is, however, folly not to suppose that the French Directory, who are so expert every where else in giving bribes, and so little scrupulous on the subject, as to have begged of America a 50,000*l.* bribe for themselves, would take care to secure a party in the new Irish Directory, by means of this sort. But whether bribed or not, one thing is clear, which is, that the conspirators were uniformly labouring to deliver over the Irish nation into the hands of France. It was

not *Irish Independence*, as some of them fancied, and as they all pretended; it was *Irish Subjection* to the present French Government, which they were going to bring about. And what would Ireland have gained by this change? Mr. Emmett, one of the conspirators, has himself confessed, that "Ireland has grown out of her connection with Great Britain; her population," says he, "which at the revolution did not much exceed a million and a half, now amounts to five millions; her wealth has increased in a greater proportion." This he is led to observe, for the sake of inferring as a consequence, "I am therefore of opinion that she is capable now of standing alone."

Now if these benefits, even in the opinion of a conspirator, have been lately gained by the Sister Kingdom, through her connection with Great Britain, I would ask what are those still greater blessings which she would be likely to reap from the introduction of 50,000 Frenchmen upon her coast? Perhaps the following excellent passage from a speech of Mr. Sheridan in the British Parliament, may serve, as well as any thing that can be said, to shew the object of an army of French invaders in its true light. "What," says he, "do they want? Glory? they are gorged with it. Territory? they have more, perhaps, than they will be able to retain. What is it they want? It is your ships, commerce, manufactures, cash, capital and credit; or in other words, *they want the sinews, bones, marrow, and heart's-blood of your country.* Give them that, and they will give you as much of *their* liberty in return as you please. We know they have but little *real* liberty at home, and I would ask whether they would let

" us have more than they possess in France?
 " Would they leave us our trial by jury, or any
 " other of our valuable rights, unimpaired? They
 " would be fools if they did. As to Buonaparte,
 " he certainly is a great man. But I would at
 " least distrust his professions—' Rights restored
 " freedom regained—peace to commerce—peace
 " to cottages—that he comes for the humane and
 " liberal purpose of establishing liberty.'—Can
 " any thing be more glorious, I had almost said
 " more godlike, than this? But is there any
 " Englishman so absurd as to believe one word of
 " it? They call you a nation of merchants, and
 " this they stile you in derision. Then, at least,
 " in dealing with them for their commodity, you
 " should deal as merchants, and merchants give
 " no trust to the *mere name* of a commodity, but
 " are apt to enquire into the reality of the article.
 " But, sir, let them not come here; for I have no
 " doubt that *the first drop of British blood that shall*
 " *be shed by Frenchmen on British ground, would*
 " *raise such a spirit of valorous fury as would be*
 " *invincible and irresistible.*"

The following is said to be a part of the Proclamation of General Humbert, who succeeded so far as to land near Killala, with about a thousand French troops, all of whom, about a fortnight after, were either killed or taken. It may serve to shew, among other things, how far the intended *Independence* of Ireland was likely to be secured.

" LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

" ARMY OF IRELAND.

" At the head-quarters at Castlebar, 14 *Fructidor*,
 the 6th year of the French Republic, one and
 indivisible,

" General

"General Humbert, Commander in Chief of the Army of Ireland, wishing to organize, as soon as possible, an administrative power for Connaught, orders as follows:

1. "The government of Connaught shall reside at Castlebar, till further orders.

2. "It shall be composed of twelve Members, to be nominated by the Commander in Chief of the French army.

3. "Citizen John Moore is appointed President*.

4. "Provisions are required (not for the Irish and French but) for the French and Irish armies.

5. "Eight regiments of infantry and four of cavalry shall be raised.

6. "The government will declare rebels and traitors all those who, having received arms or cloathing, shall not join the army in twenty-four hours.

7. "Every individual, from sixteen to forty, is called upon to repair to the French camp, to march in a mass against the English."

The above is the Proclamation of the French General. I will next lay before the Reader a copy of the General Orders of an Irish Commander, which was also agreed to by the several officers of the Wexford army of United Irish. Let every United Englishman, and United Irishman, read it attentively, that he may know the whole secret of this political Free-Masonry, and may be aware what is the sort of liberty which every member of the Brotherhood, when admitted into

* Citizen John Moore is said to have been hanged at Castlebar a few days after, and this Proclamation to have been found in his pocket.

the full privileges of the order, has reason to expect.

Resolved, " That the Commander in Chief shall send guards to certain Baronies, to bring in all men loitering and delaying at home or elsewhere, and if any resistance be given, our desire and order is, that they be put to death; and all persons so brought in, and found to have been loitering and delaying at home, shall be tried and punished with death.

" That all officers, who depart from their quarters, shall be put to death.

Ordered, " That a guard be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert.

" That all men who shall leave their quarters, when halted, without leave, be put to death.

(Signed)

" B. B. HARVEY,

Carrickburn Camp,

" Commander in Chief."

June 6, 1798.

Such is the sort of government to which these deluded people had become subject! They had been taught to consider as a tyranny that constitution and those laws under which the most treasonable practices had seldom received any punishment, and they were destined now to experience for a while what true tyranny was. The golden dreams were already vanishing, and "the reign of terror" had begun. Happy has it been for them, that those whom they considered as their enemies triumphed over them. May the Irish never fall again under the power of these merciless leaders, but may they henceforth enjoy the *true, practical*, liberty of either "halting," or moving, of either "leaving their quarters," or "loitering at home" with their families, without being "put to death."

The

The following are extracts from two Proclamations issued by James Napper Tandy, and Rey, the French General, who, on the 16th September, landed from a French national brig at Rutland Island, not far from Killala, bringing with them a number of arms and a few French and disaffected Irish.

"LIBERTY OR DEATH.

"NORTHERN ARMY OF AVENGERS.

"Head-quarters, the first year of Irish Liberty.

"General J. N. Tandy to his Countrymen,

"What do I hear? The British Government have dared to speak of concessions. Would you accept them? The minister holds in his hand the olive of peace. Be aware: his other hand lies concealed, armed with a poignard. Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country. Your friends are fallen a sacrifice to your cause. It is your duty to avenge their death.—Irishmen, listen to no proposals. Wage a war of extermination against your oppressors."

Proclamation by General REY.

"United Irishmen,

"The soldiers of the *Great Nation* have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and artillery, worked by men who have spread terror among the best troops of Europe. James Napper Tandy is at their head. They will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood. He has sworn to lead them on to victory or die."

General Tandy reembarked on the day after he landed, having taken only a few sheep and swine. When he was told of the fate of the former French force,

force, this great general is said to have been woefully dejected. He could not persuade a single man to join him. This story was magnified by some people in Ireland, into a new invasion of 25,000 men.

PART IV.

Connection between the United Irishmen and the English and Scotch Societies.

IN the Appendix to the same Report of the Irish Parliament, is the following earnest and very plausible address which was sent by the Dublin Society to the Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland, so early as in December, 1792. "We rejoice," they say, "that the spirit of freedom moves over the face of Scotland; and that a country so respectable for her attainments in science, in arts, and in arms, for men of literary eminence, for the intelligence and morality of her people, now acts from a conviction of the union between virtue, letters, and liberty. We honour a nation eminent for men of genius, and we trust that they will now exert themselves not so much in perusing and penning the histories of other countries, as in making their own the subject for the historian." They then proceed, with the true diction of Frenchmen, to say, "We will open to you our hearts;" but it does not appear that they thought fit to open them at this time, and in this public paper, any further than by observing, in the most prudent and general terms, That universal emancipation and representative legislature were their
object.

object. They then urge union in the common cause, and advise that in each country the people should assemble in "*peaceful and constitutional Convention.*"

The other information which I shall quote is of a much later date, and it will sufficiently prove, that the Corresponding Society, and other similar societies in this country, have had just the same general end in view with the United Irish. Dr. M'Nevin, indeed, in his confession, observes, that he thinks "there was only some slight connection between the Irish Union and the Scotch and English Societies;" and Mr. O'Connor also says, that "the connection was between them and individuals, and that the Irish Executive (of whom Mr. O'Connor was one) wished to be clear of them." It has, however, been clearly shown that the priest Quigley was employed in opening a connection between them, and it is also put out of dispute, by the following papers, which are of a late date, that this connection subsisted.

At a Provincial Irish Meeting held 1st February, 1798*, (Appendix No. 14.) the Reporter, after mentioning that three Delegates were arrived from France, and that the French were more forward than had been supposed in their preparations for the invasion, added, "But what is still more flattering is, that three Delegates have been sent from the United Britons to the Irish National Committee, and that from this very moment the meeting were to consider England, Scotland, and Ireland, as one people, acting for one common cause;

* In the Appendix the date is 1st February, 1791, but this appears clearly, by what follows, to have been an error of the press.

and that there were Legislators now chosen, from the three kingdoms, to act as an Executive for the whole." The apparent contradiction between this statement and the preceding one, may, perhaps, be accounted for by supposing, that Mr. O'Connor, and the other members of the Executive of Ireland, may not have approved of the admission of these persons into their body, and though chosen for this purpose by their constituents, may have thought it better to act without them. The Reporter then produced an address brought by the Delegates of Britain to the Irish National Committee, in which are the following passages. "In the name (they say) of the people of England, with whose sentiments we are acquainted, and whose confidence we possess, we declare, That we will, by every possible means, promote the emancipation of both countries." They then observe, "that England has never been without sincere friends to substantial liberty, though among these a number of dark and designing characters have always intruded; that various political societies for reform have been instituted, but of these few could boast purity of principles, or integrity of leaders. Formerly Richmond headed the votaries of universal suffrage. Fox those of representation by householders, and Pitt those who wished to disfranchise the corrupt boroughs—but they have vanished. The London Corresponding Society, and others in union with it, have arisen on the ruin of the former societies, *and they will not be wanting in the hour of danger.*" The following extract from the declaration of John Cormick, of Thomas-street, Dublin, apprehended at Guernsey, 10th July, 1798, will throw further light on this subject. He declares, "That
about

about three months ago, Lord E. Fitzgerald was brought to his house to be concealed there; that, during his intercourse with Lord Edward, his Lordship shewed him two letters, one of which stated, that the number of disaffected in London amounted to seventeen thousand, who would rise on a common emergency; but that at least there was a hundred thousand of the same description, who would not shew themselves till the time of actual invasion."—In his declaration he further stated, "that in the month of March last, a deputation from the United British in London, arrived in Dublin—he knows that there is an agent for the United British resident at Hamburgh,"

CONCLUSION.

SUCH is the story of this dreadful rebellion in Ireland, and of a few of the facts respecting England connected with it. May Englishmen take warning from it. May they learn to be on their guard against those designing men, who, in the name of liberty, would bring them into slavery; who would overthrow that happy constitution under which we have grown so great and flourishing, and would render even Great Britain herself a miserable province of France. It is the way of crafty and ambitious men to use the people as the ladder by which they may step into power, but when they have effected their purpose, they kick down the ladder by which they rose. With what fair speeches did these

these conspirators begin. "Let the name of our society (said they) be the *Irish Brotherhood*, and let every member wear an amulet to denote the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours of shades of difference. Alas for the sufferings of humanity, and Oh for the power to redress it."— And yet, we find, from the oath of one deponent*, "that he himself saw these friends to humanity, after confining him and several other protestants (himself having been captured when in the pursuit of his ordinary calling) order out these same prisoners (by fours) to be shot, by a company of rebels, till thirty-five were massacred; that the rebel spearmen used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through with their spears, even licking their blood in exultation; that while this horrid scene was acting, the barn at Scollobogue, in the county of Wexford, in which were above one hundred protestants, (as this deponent heard and believes) was set on fire, and all consumed to ashes." This signal instance of cruelty is not mentioned with the view of casting the odium of it generally on all the rebels; but rather for the sake of shewing to credulous and well-meaning men in what dreadful acts both of cruelty and bigotry the strongest and even the sincerest professions of humanity and liberality, proceeding from the mouth of theorists and revolutionists, may, through their own inability to restrain the people whom they have inflamed, be found to end; for it is far easier to excite the fury of the people than it is either to guide or to quell it.—It is remarkable, that it was one principle among the leaders of the conspiracy, that all reli-

* See the information on oath of Richard Grandy, of Ballystraco, in the county of Wexford, farmer.

gious distinctions ought to end, and that they charged the state, not the people, with the sin of magnifying, if not of causing, these distinctions. Yet here we see, that the people, when freed from that Government which had restrained this bigotry, carried their religious distinctions so far as even to select and massacre a considerable body of the poor protestants in cold blood. And, indeed, in almost every particular, how inconsistent was the practice of the conspirators with their original professions. In an address to Scotland, in the year 1792, they had said, "We will not buy nor borrow liberty from America, nor from France; but we will manufacture it ourselves, and work it up with those materials which the hearts of Irishmen furnish them with at home." And yet was there ever a manufacture more clearly proved to be completely French, and contraband, than that "Liberty and fraternity" which was attempted to be palmed on the Irish people. "It is a conspiracy," said they in another place, "of Truth against Falsehood; of Peace and Liberty against War and Slavery; of Love and Union against Hatred and Civil Discord; a conspiracy of Reason, Justice, and Virtue, against cruel Oppression, Inhumanity, and Vice."

I answer, Let the duplicity of O'Connor, let the bloody proclamations of Harvey, let the dying speech of the priest Quigley, let the cruelties witnessed by Richard Grandy, and let the nightly robberies and murders which continue still to be perpetrated through the country by the broken remnants of the party, be the evidences whether or not this be the fact. There is too much reason, on every ground, to fear that the rebel party, though
it

it might include many speculative and deluded men, owed its chief strength to leaders of desperate fortune, of violent ambition, of disappointed hopes, of malignant tempers, or of deep dissimulation and hypocrisy, who were the paid agents of France.

But finally, let us not forget to render thanks to that good Providence who has so long guarded these islands, and to whose blessing on our arms, as well as signal interference on our behalf, it becomes us humbly and sincerely to ascribe our deliverance. We will not, indeed, pretend, that miracles have been literally wrought in our favour, nor imitate the rebel preachers, who, as Mr. Grandy has given in evidence, used, in their sermons, to tell the people, "that God had enabled them to catch all the musquet-balls, from the King's heretic army, in their hands;" and had thus manifested to the rebels the divine approbation.—Let one remark, however, be made, which is very obvious—the quelling of the rebellion, with so little difficulty and loss to the King's troops, as have been experienced, is clearly to be imputed principally to its having broken out when there was no French army ready to assist them; a French army nevertheless, consisting probably of near 15,000 men, was at one time actually on the coast. But Providence, it seems, had so infatuated the councils of the rebel leaders, that when the French with a great force were actually at hand, the rebels were quite unprepared to receive them; and when, on the other hand, the rebels were ready, when in Ulster they boasted of above 100,000 armed men, and when in Dublin also they pronounced "the organization perfect," then the French, misconceiving the time at which the open insurrection was to take place,
never

never so much as landed a single boat; but remained blocked up in their harbours, insomuch that the earliest of the expeditions sent out by them, which was that under General Humbert, served only to add to the triumph and security of the loyalists, to the discouragement of the ill-affected, and to the mortification of the French government.

While, therefore, the French deny a Providence, let us thankfully adore it; and while they talk of regenerating empires, and of mending whole nations at a stroke, by the magic power of their wand, let us each endeavour to mend the nation in which we live, by more rational and peaceful means; and in order to this, let every one endeavour rather *to mend one*, than take in hand the reformation of the whole people.



